

A STUDY AND EVALUATION
OF THE PROGRAM USED IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIPS IN THE EVENING PROGRAM
OF THE RECREATION-EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF UNION SETTLEMENT
1948-1950

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Social Group Work process there are two objectives to which the adjustive efforts are directed, meeting of personal needs of an individual through voluntary group associations, and the meeting of community needs.¹ Belief in the conviction that the group as a unit must develop a responsible, participating relationship with its agency and with other groups in the community forms the emphasis of the social intergroup work process. "Experience in a larger group is a necessary compliment to experience in a small group... an agency that encourages nothing but small stable groups may be doing an unwise social thing unless some other agency provides also an opportunity of a mass educational or recreational nature of program..."² Opportunities should be afforded for intergroup experiences between small units through vigorous participation in councils and representative bodies.

As there develops a greater understanding of group work as an area of professional knowledge and skill for effecting better individual and group adjustment, there is a growing awareness of the contribution that group work can make in bringing into satisfactory relationships individuals and groups of diverse cultural backgrounds. The members of a particular cultural group can be helped to relate themselves to other groups in the community by identifying the common interests and common group factors

¹Wilbur I. Newstetter, "The Social Intergroup Work Process", Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, (1947), p. 205.

²Wilbur I. Newstetter and Research Associates, Group Adjustment (Cleveland, Western Reserve University, 1938), p. 120.

that bind them in the agency. In group programming not only should the similarities of people be emphasized, but participation should be encouraged through social relationships that cut across cultural lines.¹

This study is concerned with the type of program which was consciously effected and utilized in the development of intergroup relations. The term, intergroup relationships, broadly refers to the relationship existing between one group and another group. In its broadest sense the term does not imply that the qualitative phenomena of differences be limited merely to racial or cultural aspects in order to form an index for intergroup relations. Whether it be racial, religious, economic, age or cultural differences, this term can be generally applied. Usually in mixed groups of differing ethnic make-up, the term is specified as interracial or intercultural group. Throughout this study the term has been used specifically in reference to the functioning of an intergroup committee, which was composed of representatives from self-determined clubs in the Evening Program area. It was intentionally designated because the development of intergroup relationships revolve around more than the furthering of racial and cultural understanding, but the functioning of an inter-club committee as a planning body for building program for the entire membership.

One of the strongest traditions of the settlement lies in its interest in nationality and racial groups and in better interrelations between the various groups in the neighborhood.² If a settlement house is exclusively utilized by one ethnic group in a mixed neighborhood, it may well become a

¹Sanford Solender, "Comments on Helen Green's Paper", Toward Professional Standards (New York, 1947), p. 82.

²Grace L. Coyle, Group Experience and Democratic Values. (New York, 1947), pp. 105-07.

party to increasing tension. Certainly, the careful bringing together of differing and conflicting groups through cooperative activities is a means of building mutual appreciation and understanding. However, to bring members of differing racial groups together requires careful planning and skillful techniques in the development of program.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to show how the program activities as planned by an intergroup committee aided in the development of intergroup relationships through intergroup participation of its members, and to evaluate the effectiveness of program in the light of its objective.

Scope

This study was limited to a two year period from 1948-1950, as this particular inter-club body was initiated by staff in 1948. Previous to this time the membership had not assumed responsibility of program planning. This study was limited to the teen-age area of the Evening Program of the Recreation-Education department and did not include the adult area, although the adult area was included in the Evening Program.

Method of Procedure

The method of procedure used in obtaining material for this study was procuring information from the following sources:

1. Observation and records of intergroup committees
2. Material from selected group records
3. Minutes from staff meetings of the Recreation-Education department
4. Readings related to the field of study

CHAPTER II

SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS IN BACKGROUND STUDY

Briefing of the Neighborhood

Union Settlement Association is located in the Manhattan borough of the city of New York in a section known as East Harlem, which is an area about one to one and an half square miles in size, with a population figure of approximately 210,000 to 215,000.¹ Within the area there are three major racial groups, the Italians, Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Of these three groups, the Italians are the oldest, having settled in the area after the Irish and German settlers in 1895.² Negroes moved in from Harlem during 1920-1945, with the Puerto Ricans settling into the area from Puerto Rico. The section is characterized by rapid mobility, over-crowding of houses and racial tension. Although the area is in constant change due to the cross currents of culture, the racial groups tend to remain distinctive, living in isolated blocks. One of the patterns of the invading groups seems to indicate that if one group moves into an apartment house, in a relatively short period of time, the house will become the sole habitation of the invading group. Such invasion pattern was typical among Puerto Ricans.³

There is evidence of racial conflict, hostility and tension for job competition is keen due to the fact that the groups form the unskilled

¹United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, Government Printing Office, 1941, p. 180.

²Clyde Murray, "The East Harlem Community" (notes on talk given to the Recreation-Education Staff, Union Settlement, New York, New York, November 17, 1949).

³Ibid.

laboring classes. This growing resentment has been sharpened by the general reputation of the area in the larger community. As they react to this, those in the area have a tendency to blame the newer groups. In addition, the press has been exploitative in its writing of feature stories and has been derogative in its criticisms of the socio-economic conditions of East Harlem.

The immediate neighborhood surrounding the settlement has been part of this slow and gradual change in population. Previously the agency served Italians because this group was in dominance in the community. Even at this time, the Board's open door policy, although static, did state that..."Union Settlement Association... a non-sectarian, intercultural, interracial agency...",¹ was broad enough to open the agency's services to the new invading groups. However, with this constant shifting and changing population of Negro and Puerto Rican groups, the agency was still considered by the newer groups as an Italian agency. This feeling was justifiable as a newer population tends to see the agency as "belonging" to the community that has been displaced, and to be suspicious of the program to the extent of not being able to enter into it.² An agency must be aware of these feelings of resistance of new groups and work with them if they are to be modified in a constructive fashion.

The Recreation-Education Department

The Recreation-Education department forms the leisure-time services

¹Union Settlement House Manual (Publicity and Fund Raising Publication), Phil Rosen Press, New York, 1938, p. 30.

²Sophia E. and Paul Deutschberger, "Planning Intercultural Policy in Neighborhood Agency", The Group, XII (March, 1950). p. 7.

of the settlement, serving children, teen-agers, adults and the aged of the neighborhood.¹ The department is divided into two general program areas, using the age of the member as the index for the time of day: (1) Afternoon program (three o'clock to six o'clock P.M.) - serves children between the average ages of seven to thirteen years. (2) Evening program (seven o'clock to ten o'clock P.M.) - serves three distinct groupings, teen-agers, young adults and adults.

Method of Intake.—Members of the teen-ager division in the Evening program are registered through the group intake method. This intake procedure allows the staff to reach the natural groups that are frequently in existence among individuals of this developmental age. During the adolescent period, an individual becomes affiliated with other persons in intimate relationships, as the gang, in order to attain recognition from his peers and to receive status from the environment.² Through the group intake method, groups are self-determining in their choice of acceptance and rejection of members. These are considered as natural groups as they were formed on the basis of friendship ties and characterized by intimate relationships between members.³ The staff makes no provision for individual registration, as a person must come in with a group. There are no groups formed on the basis of interest. As friendship groups form the

¹Although the Nursery and School-age Day Care Departments of the settlement serve children, for the purposes of this thesis, a distinction is made in that they are not voluntary services because parental need is a governing factor in intake procedure.

²Grace L. Coyle, Group Work with American Youth (New York, 1948), pp. 47-50.

³Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, Social Group Work Practice (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 3-4

the sole basis of intake policy, the staff is limited in being unable to impose the addition of new members to these natural groups.

The groups usually come in the agency uniformly integrated in ethnic composition. Out of the nineteen groups admitted in the Evening program during 1948, thirteen were white, three were Negro, two were Puerto Rican and only one was an interracial group.¹ The staff made special effort to strike a balance interculturally by sending staff out into the neighborhood to recruit non-white groups into the membership.² In doing so, the staff moved several steps beyond the stated "open-door" policy of the Board, by reaching out into the community and encouraging these groups to join the agency.

Each club group admitted to the program is assigned a leader and a meeting room, as chosen by the Supervisor of the Evening program.³ The club leader is appointed to the group on the basis of the group's needs. The club leader is the liaison person between the group and the agency.

General Program Areas

Club programming is determined by each club. The agency provides general program areas, such as the lounge, game room and gymnasium which may be used to enlarge club programming. It offers an individual an opportunity to participate in an activity outside of the close-knitted structure of the group.

¹A. Davis, "Discussion on Intergroup Committees and Councils" (Staff Minutes of Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, February 16, 1950), p.4 (Mimeographed).

²Robert Vinter, "Supervision" (Staff Minutes, Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, February 9, 1950), p. 2 (Mimeographed).

³A club leader may be either a volunteer, graduate student, undergraduate student or resident.

These general program areas are flexible in that program is not rigidly enforced, giving freedom for a group or an individual to move in and move out, according to the manifested interests. These areas are the fun-shop, lounge, musical lounge, game room, kitchen, co-ed gym and auditorium.

Fun-shop.---This is a special room equipped with art and craft materials. The general activities conducted with a specialist are handicraft, painting, clay molding and charcoal drawing.

Lounge.---This room has no special outlined activity for the participants. It is used for spontaneous and informal program such as card-playing, bull sessions and singing. An attempt was made to furnish the room different from the conventional club room setting, so as to make it more conducive for relaxation.

Musical lounge.---The lounge is opened once per week with a musical specialist in charge of program. It is opened to groups or individuals with the program centering around informal singing and dancing.

Game room.---This room is available every evening to individuals with a recreational specialist in charge. It is equipped with pool tables, ping pong tables and various kinds of table games.

Kitchen.---This area is used by groups for cooking and small parties.

Co-ed gym.---The gymnasium is opened once per week to members of both sexes for joint activity. Basketball, volley ball are the favorite athletic games played by the teen-agers.

Auditorium.---This general program area is opened to the general membership of the Evening program and their friends for social dancing on Friday nights at a small fee. The other general areas are closed on these nights and no club meetings are scheduled in order that each member is afforded an opportunity to participate.

The Friday night social dance has always been one of great concern to the membership, for out of this activity past house councils attempted to make policy concerning dances. The power of these councils was not clearly defined by staff, and it assumed policy-making power as well as program planning functions.

House Councils

"In 1938 a House council was organized for the purpose of stimulating the membership to plan special program for the entire agency."¹ Each club had two representatives; each of whom had the power to vote. During this time almost ninety five per cent of the membership was of Italian extraction; the remaining five per cent were of Jewish, Greek, Spanish and Irish descent.²

The Supervisor of the Young People's department acted as advisor to the council.³ Representatives of the clubs were requested to attend meetings, report to their clubs, and act in the capacity of spokesmen for their groups.

Program activities sponsored by the council were dances, carnivals and festivals.

There was little evidence of interracial friction in the agency from 1938 to 1943. In 1943 there was a shortage of leaders, as this was during

¹Patsy Cacace, "Discussion of Intergroup Committees and Councils" (Staff Minutes of Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, February 16, 1950), p. 1. (Mimeographed).

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Prior to 1948 the Young People's department which is now the Recreation-Education Department operated under a separate unit.

the war years. During this year two groups of Negro girls were organized and admitted to the agency.

At the beginning of each program year a new house council was formed, because membership in the council was not on a continual basis. This was necessary as many of the old members did not return.

In 1943 a new House council was structured which operated similarly to the previous one. The function of the council was not clearly defined and limits were not set-up to curb its power. There was misinterpretation of function and racial tension arose due to conflicts over the social dance which was sponsored by the council.

A mixed social dance which was suggested by the Supervisor of the Young People, attracted more Negro boys, but many interracial altercations occurred. As a result of a staff meeting the dances were discontinued for two weeks. Then the membership was urged to invite their friends and the dances went smoothly thereafter. Although the staff felt it unwise to have mixed groups at social dances, it was felt that it was the best way it could promote interracial relationships.

In 1944, another House council was formed and called the House of Representatives. The structure of this council was based on club representation, as the earlier council. It became necessary to define the responsibilities of the body and to restrain its freedom when it suggested conducting social affairs which were counter to the agency's policy. The House of Representatives felt that it was useless and saw no reason for its existence.¹

The council placed an age limit on the members that were permitted to the Friday night dances. This caused a severe drop in attendance, and a reduction of profit; as a result of losses encountered the delegates decided to have an "open house" dance which resulted in an increase of attendance.

The last House council disbanded when the staff refused to grant the

¹Patsy Cacace, op. cit., p. 2.

committee the use of a cabin for week-ends at one of the settlement's camps.

Weakness.--The councils organized during the period 1938-1945 assumed policy-making power in the administrative area. The staff failed to interpret to the representatives that the council was to function primarily in the area of program planning. The staff failed to handle frictions of the Friday night dances on a staff level, and shifted the responsibility to the council.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL COMMITTEE

Formation

With the realizations of the weaknesses and failures of the past house councils the staff was prepared to lay the groundwork of any future inter-club body with care and a great deal of thought. Through the mistakes of past representative bodies, the staff realized that the clubs were not quite ready to assume any policy-making functions, but could be responsible for suggesting ideas to the staff in improving the program in their own teen-age area. This thinking was prompted in view of the relative staff and budget shortages, and it became necessary to involve the membership in helping to build their own program.

Purpose

In November of 1948 the Social Committee was organized by the Supervisor of the Evening program for the following four purposes: (1) to improve the general program for all membership and to get the groups to be more active; (2) to give clubs responsibilities for as many activities as possible; (3) to provide an opportunity for representatives from every club to meet and work together; (4) to raise money for programs, the Athletic Council and national drives.¹

Structure

Each of the nineteen clubs in the Evening program sent one representative to this inter-club committee. It was permissible for more than one member to attend, however, each club would only have one vote. From this

¹A. Davis, op. cit., p. 4.

representative body three functional officers were elected in December. These were chairman, secretary, and treasurer, although the chairman was the only active officer.¹ The Supervisor of the Evening program acted as staff advisor to the committee.

Four permanent sub-committees were created under the Social Committee. These committees attempted to involve the representatives and other members in planning and executing program activities.

Friday Night Dance Committee.---This committee generally sponsored the weekly Friday night dance. The committee arranged for an orchestra and publicized the weekly social through poster signs. The profits made on this activity went directly to the Social Committee.

Dance Records Committee.---This committee was created as a result of the dissatisfactions and criticisms expressed by the membership over the obsolete collection of dance recording for the weekly socials. The committee posted popularity lists in order that all the members could sign-up for their choices. These lists were assembled by the committee and were classified into four musical types: ballads, be-bop, swing and Latin American tunes. Out of these four groupings, the most popular songs in each class were purchased.

Lounge Committee.---This committee was originally set-up for the purpose of improving the lounge with club and athletic decorations. It became inactive mainly because of the lack of staff help.²

¹Report of Social Committee, (To the membership of the Evening Program of Recreation-Education Department of Union Settlement, New York, New York) n.d. (Mimeographed).

²Ibid.

Movie Committee.---This committee failed to rent films at a cost of \$17.50 each. There was no time to carry out suggestions during the program year, as the Social Committee had to sponsore other money raising events in order to finance rentals.

For special events, planning committees were appointed. These committees made general plans and drew in members from all groups to help conduct special programs. This technique was employed to widen the representative body's purposes in engaging non-representative members of the individual clubs. These committees varied in size according to the duty to be performed.

Problems Involved in Intergroup Functioning

Some of the inherent problems faced by the Social Committee were within the intergroup process.¹ These problems may be classified into four categories involving: (1) attendance, (2) inter-action between groups, (3) participation, and (4) conflicts with the Athletic Council.

Attendance.---The Social Committee was organized by staff because of its recognition of the need of such an organization. It grew primarily out of the needs of the agency, rather than the needs of individual members of the committee. This was reflected in the lack of attendance and it became one of the first problems with which the Social Committee dealt.

The committee discussed the problem of non-participating clubs and decided that the Social Committee was an activity whose benefits every club should share and whose responsibilities every club should carry. To insure representation at meetings, the group ruled that a fine of five

¹Wilbur I. Newstetter, op. cit., pp. 205-14.

cents was to be imposed on each member of a club who was not represented in the meetings. This would be increased to ten cents for the second absence.¹ It was brought out that the responsibility of getting delegates or alternates to the meetings was the club's and not solely the individual delegate's responsibility. Seemingly, this was feasible since delegates represented clubs and not themselves.¹

The Supervisor of the Evening program incorporated this responsibility as an integral part of intake policy in the interviewing of groups. Groups would be obliged to be active in participation in the Social Committee.²

Inter-action between Groups.—The Social Committee was not composed of individuals who were imbued with their task in accomplishing specific goals of the joint planning body. Representatives were sent by clubs according to the varying attitudes which were conceived by the members toward the Social Committee. An observer stated:

Some clubs have democratic elections, deciding on the most capable people. Others elect their representative because of popularity, and still others because it is a job that no else wants to do.

For many persons in the Social Committee this was their first experience in belonging to a group of this particular nature. Most of the representatives seemed rather confused as to the actual meaning of their function and seemed rather confused as to the actual meaning of their function, and seemed to feel that they had ful-filled all obligations by merely appearing and sitting. While the meetings were orderly and efficiently conducted, partici-

¹Minutes of the Social Committee, (To the membership of the Evening Program of Recreation-Education Department of Union Settlement, New York, New York) December 14, 1948, p. 1. (Mimeographed).

²Ibid.

pation by members was very poor, the delegates were sometimes all eager to approve anything suggested without giving it much concern and consideration. An observer recorded:

The meeting of the Social Committee got off to a slow start as people were not only late, but also continued to straggle in at odd times. The discussion of the question of movies was so slow moving, and few acted as though they knew what was going on. The chairman's presentation of the issue was so vague, and his leadership so weak and undynamic that he failed to create or hold the interest and attention of the committee.

In meetings of any intergroup committee "from and to" are important processes. The delegate is the connecting link between the group represented and the representative body. The delegate brings and takes material simultaneously to his group and from his group to the inter-club body. In this manner the life-line of the intergroup work process is maintained in the "from and to" process between the group and the intergroup.¹ A demonstration of the problems delegates had in reporting back to their clubs took place in the Social Committee meeting. An observer recorded:

At a meeting where the chairman of the group was absent, it became necessary for the advisor to take over in the presiding of the meeting. Having set forth items which the group had decided to discuss, he recapitulated for them (the representatives) what had happened in the last meeting. He explained to the group why he was taking this role, thereby indicating that he would not ordinarily do this. He threw the various problems back to the group for discussion, but got little response. Since the discussion did not progress very well, he presented the difficulty to the group. He said that there seemed to be very little cooperation among the members and he wondered what they should do about it. He chose seven people who went out of the room for a few minutes. He was one of them. They came back and acted out various roles of members in the group. For instance, one person acted out the kind of person who talks a lot in meetings but when it comes to being on a committee to do something, he backs out. Another acted out the kind of person who may not talk much, but volunteers to help get things done...

¹Wilbur I. Newstetter, op. cit., p. 214.

This semi-sociodrama was used to depict the attitudes of members in the Social Committee and their degree of participation in committee discussion.¹ After the role-playing skit, the whole group discussed the problems and what could be done about them.

Participation.--It was generally discovered that the representatives of the groups had difficulty in seeing their relationship to one another. Opportunities were afforded when persons were brought together around common needs, conflicts and interests. The dissatisfaction of dance records, the wish to redecorate and refurnish the lounge, and the setting of age limits at the weekly social dances helped the representatives identify in the common problems. When the intergroup planned something which was of special interest to the representatives, they were willing to contribute in the planning process. An observer wrote:

In the second meeting that I visited, two very cute girls were present that had not been there at the first meeting. They sat near several boys and talked and laughed throughout the meeting. They spoke several times, but it was always for the purpose of bringing up some personal gripe which they had. The boys responded to them until the discussion centered around the all-star basket-ball game. From then on, the boys were more interested in the discussion than the girls and several times told the girls to be quiet.

The committee discussed some of the problems centering around the Friday night dances and felt that there should be some behavior standards for dances and other intergroup events. A question was raised in regard to the age limitation of members attending the socials. It was voted by the committee that persons under fourteen years of age who were not members of the Evening program would not be permitted to attend the dances.

¹Gertrude Wilson and Gladys Ryland, op. cit., p. 299.

An essential task was to enable groups through their own representatives to determine specific goals and to obtain unity of responsible action through group relationships.

Conflicts with Athletic Council.--When the question of the actual function of the Social Committee was raised, it became obvious that none of the representatives had any idea of what the committee meant or could mean. This was evident when the committee had conflict with the Athletic Council.

The Athletic Council was composed of representatives of clubs with basket-ball teams.¹ The Athletic Council dealt primarily with program activities solely in the sphere of athletics. The Council conducted tournaments, scheduled the playing of house league games and was authorized to raise funds for athletic equipment.

The two organizations had conflicts over the precedence of one group's planning over another, as they both competed in raising money through program activities. The Athletic Council had discussed the possibilities of conducting dances at the settlement on Saturday nights in order to raise money for the Council.² However the question was relayed back to the clubs for further discussion, so that the representatives voted according to the club's decision.

The Social Committee promised financial support for the Athletic Council as it seemed the best way to avoid having the two groups compete in

¹The Athletic Council was composed of male delegates, as there were no teams among the girls' clubs.

²Report of Athletic Committee (Minutes of meeting) Union Settlement, New York, New York, December 22, 1948. (Mimeographed).

raising money. Objections had been made to the Social Committee as it was felt that the Social Committee was planning matters which were the business of the Athletic Council.

A plan to bring the Social Committee and Athletic Council closer together was discussed by representatives from both groups. Three delegates from each intergroup committee met to draw-up plans for bringing the two organizations together. As a result of this coordinating committee, the two groups shared in planning an All-Star Benefit Game and Dance. The Social Committee voted to share the cost of sponsoring the Father and Son Dinner for Varsity teams in helping to finance the cost of the banquet. The Social Committee helped in paying for the new electric score-board in building up the equipment of the Athletic program.

The two organizations were able to work cooperatively in ful-filling their specific goals because of the recognition of similarities of purpose. The structural set-up of the Social Committee and the Athletic Council made it difficult for the member representatives of the intergroup committees to clearly define their area of work. The suspicion that the decision of one body would be more binding and authoritative than the decision of the other group was another factor that caused confusion and misunderstanding.

In the intergroup work process, the intergroup committee must develop and contain a group bond of strength sufficient to maintain its operations adequately.¹

Special Activities

The following program activities were planned by the Social Committee

¹Wilbur I. Newstetter, op. cit., p. 216.

during the year of 1948-49:

Hanging of the Greens.---This was the first party planned by the Committee in December, when the settlement was decorated for the Christmas season. The activity had to be limited to a certain number and all of the membership was not able to attend, as there was not enough room for all the teenagers. Selection was based on "first come, first served". After decorating the building, the participants sang carols and partook of refreshments.

Variety Night.---In January, Variety night was given in the auditorium with every club providing a type of vaudeville entertainment. Clubs used their own talent. Performance from each club lasted about ten minutes with dances, imitations, singing, instrumental numbers, mock club meeting scenes and play parodies.

Special planning committees were set-up for this special activity which involved members who were not representatives in the Social Committee. These committees were publicity, ticket and production staff, which included stage and lighting crews.

Moreover, each club was assigned tickets of fifteen cents for each member in the group. This had to be paid regardless of whether the club took part in the performances or not. Sixteen clubs of the nineteen groups in the program gave performances. This was a successful event with many fine skits and creative talent exhibited by the membership.

Benefit Game-Dance.---In April, the Social Committee and the Athletic Council combined their efforts in sponsoring a double header affair to raise money for health and welfare drives.

The house tournament winners played an All-Star team with a dance following the game in the auditorium. Special committees were formed to handle

the tickets, publicity, refreshments and decorations.

A profit of \$63.90 was divided between the Cancer Drive, Fresh Air Fund and Union Settlement.

Field Day.---This was the last activity given by the Social Committee before the beginning of the Summer program. This special event was given at Palisades State Park. All clubs were urged to come out and participate in games, athletic events and dancing.

None of the Negro groups attended the field day activity and stated in the meeting of the Committee that they would not be represented. This was apparently due to the fact that the outing was held in the park which had been known previously as the scene of several racial difficulties, and this fact caused the Negroes to feel unwelcome in the park.

Membership Contest and Report.---The Social Committee appointed a small committee to work on the future plans of the Committee as well as review for the membership the work and purpose of the Committee as organized in November. Plans for the summer program were included, although the Social Committee decided not to meet during the summer months.

At the end of the report to the membership a detachable statement was written: "I think the Social Committee could improve program by.....
....." (in 50 words or less). A prize of five dollars was awarded to the member who turned in the best ending to the above statement.

Future Plans

It was recommended that the Social Committee continue to work in the same area in the coming year. It was suggested that more activities be added, such as a committee to improve the lounge program, a house newspaper, a dramatics group, a special activity during the fall and more events in other months.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACTIVITIES COUNCIL

Reorganization

With a year of functioning experience of the Social Committee the staff attempted to redefine and evaluate the effect of the Committee's work in terms of the results produced. Although increasing intercultural understanding was but one of the objectives, comparatively little success can be attributed to it, although some progress has been made. Points of obvious success were:

(1) The Puerto Ricans, new members in the agency made good use of all facilities in the general program areas with the exception of the Friday night dances. Through the Social Committee and leaders of their groups, Puerto Ricans were encouraged to attend the dances. (2) Through the relative superiority of their Variety night presentation, they won for themselves an accepted and respected place in the agency. (3) No similar progress was reported for Negro groups. They were reluctant in attending the Friday night dances at the settlement and in moving out to the general program areas. (4) A Negro boy was elected chairman of the Social Committee. (5) One Italian boys' club took in one Puerto Rican boy. (6) One Puerto Rican girls' group pals with one Italian boys' group.

It was felt that dances or other purely social programs should not be the job of special staff's work in bringing the diverse groupings together. Instead, through the Social Committee, Variety night programs and projects of this nature, proved most promising in bringing groups together around mutual interests.

Intake.--In 1949-50, intake registration showed an increase in non-white groups in the agency. This was the result of the staff's attempt in recruiting Puerto Rican and Negro groups. The teen-age registration according to ethnic composition of membership showed these percentages: Negro - 23.8 per cent, Puerto Rican - 10.5 per cent, and white - 65.7 per

cent.¹ The breakdown in group proportions showed 11 white, 3 interracial or mixed groups, 2 Negro and 2 Puerto Rican groups.²

Young Adults.--This was the first year for the Young Adults program. It came as a result of the staff's recognition of the presence of persons participating in the teen-age program whose age range were eighteen years and older. The affiliations of these person within the teen-age programs were not beneficiary to the younger members nor the older; it often stifled the growth of indigenous leadership among the younger members. A program planned by the club seldom offered the stimulation and encouragement necessary to broaden the interests of the older members in the same club. The needs of the two age groups were different and it was practically impossible to meet the needs of both age groups in the one club.

Programming in the Young Adult area was based on interests that were presumed to be a little advanced for the average teen-ager, and at the same time not advanced to the extent of absorbing these persons in the Adult area. Some of the ideas stressed in club programming were Vocational Guidance, jobs, family life and pre-marital relations.

Interracial and intercultural understanding were also stressed in this area, particularly in supervisory conferences with leaders of the groups. Suggestions were made and techniques exercised where necessary and possible.

In the formation of these clubs particular effort was made to have an equal number of male and female groups, and to have the membership reflect

¹William Lawrence, "Discussion on Intake" (Staff Meeting Minutes, Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, January 5, 1950). (Mimeographed).

²A. Davis, op. cit., p. 4.

the ratio of ethnic groups in the neighborhood. With regard to the latter membership, statistics revealed thirty-six white members, nine Puerto Rican and three Negroes. There were thirty-four boys and fourteen girls registered in the new program.¹ This was not the balance that the staff had hoped to acquire.

New Activities Council

The plans as envisioned by the staff were to create a Council, representative of all groups in the teen-age and young adult areas in the Evening program, which could be sufficiently centralized to enact program activities, yet sufficiently decentralized to insure interest and effective participation by other members. The name was changed by the staff to the "Activities Council" because this term more adequately described the function of the body.

Purpose.---The purposes of the council tended to parallel the aims of the Social Committee of 1948, in that it provided a democratic decision-making experience for the membership at their own level. Again, its purpose was to supplement staff responsibility for program planning.

Function.---Three of the council's functions were elaborated and enlarged by the staff: (1) to assist in the task of interpreting agency policy to the membership; (2) to develop techniques for intergroup cooperation with reference to planning and executing intergroup programs and maintaining acceptable standards of conduct at intergroup functions; (3) to encourage the use of Council funds for the improvement of program.

¹Betty Beine, "Summary Progress Report in Young Adult Area" (Staff Meeting Minutes, Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, December 18, 1950), p. 2. (Mimeographed).

Structure.--In the first interviews of the registration period of 1949-50 the Social Committee's discussion of the past year, that as a condition of membership all groups must consent to willingly participate in the work of the Council and its respective committees, was incorporated in the intake policy.

The Council's structure as an representative body of all groups continued on the same basis as in the Social Committee.

In committee structuring the chairman of each committee was held by a member of the Council and the committee members selected jointly by the chairman of the Council and the staff advisor from the general membership. This was perceived as an excellent opportunity to give responsibilities to non-representative members of the Council through active committee participation.

The standing committees were the same as in the Social Committee with the addition of the Athletic Committee and Young Adult Committee. The staff considered the structure of the Athletic committee as being responsible to the Council, as this prevented the conflicts that occurred when the Athletic Council was a separate unit as the Social Committee. With the new Young Adult area it became feasible to include a Young Adult committee under the Council which would plan activities for the Young Adult division only.

Special committees were appointed by the Council to plan for special events. These committees terminated when their specific functions had been performed.

Relation of Leader to the Council.--One of the recognized problems in the Social Committee of 1948 involved the process of enabling delegates of groups to report the material discussed to their groups. The staff

conceived of the help that group leaders could render in enhancing the work of the Council through the following suggested ways:

(1) By interpreting to their groups the necessity for participation in the activities of the Council. (2) By encouraging members to participate willingly on committees. (3) By encouraging members to visit the bulletin-boards frequently in order to keep informed. (4) By helping the group to provide meeting times for reports of delegates. (5) By giving the delegate sufficient status within the group to impress the importance of that office upon members. (6) By helping the group to understand and use the "delegate-function" as a means to developing desired program in the agency. (7) By continually seeking and testing techniques which pertain to the general problems of maintaining effective communications between the council and the general membership, and by making known to other workers the successes and failures of various techniques.

In interpreting the Council's role to the membership, it was stressed that the Activities Council does not have policy-making powers. It was further pointed out that such powers were rightfully lodged with the Board of Directors, and delegated to those persons acting for that Board as staff members. It was important that the membership clearly understood those areas in which they were to expand their responsibilities.¹

New Attitudes toward Activities Council.---The staff, having set-up detailed plans for the reorganization of the Council presented these plans for approval from the representatives at the first meeting of the group. An observer recorded the techniques of the advisor and the tone of the inter-club's meeting.

The Activities Council's advisor opened the meeting with a roll-call, then proceeded to give a resume of the Social Committee's work during the previous year. This explanation included discussion of individual club representation through delegates, the various standing and special committees, and the function of such a structure within the larger agency framework. Throughout this discussion, there were few questions, of these, one was with reference to the relation of the newly formed Young Adult program to the Council.

¹Report of the Activities Council, (Recreation-Education Department, Union Settlement, New York, New York) October, 1949, p. 2. (Unphotographed).

Having completed the explanation, the advisor called for open discussion regarding whether or not the representatives felt that the work of such an organization should be continued. It was generally agreed that the work of the committee had been satisfactory, and that it seemed a necessary function. There was only one dissenting vote; that person felt that possible alternatives should have been investigated previously to the voting process, but she found no support in the group for her proposal. When she inquired if the advisor knew off-hand of any such alternatives, he said that he did not. The reason why this representative felt as she did about the Committee last year is not known, nor was it brought out in the meeting.

The advisor then opened the question around the name for the organization. In the past, it had been called the Social Committee. The advisor suggested that the staff members felt that perhaps the group could better be called an Activities Council and gave several reasons. After a brief discussion, wherein the same delegate again objected, a vote was carried to change the Social Committee to the Activities Council.

The final formal subject of discussion was that of officers, and the group felt that several weeks should pass before officers were elected. Reasons given were as follows: (1) that few clubs had elected or appointed their permanent representative; (2) that many clubs were not yet represented at the Council; (3) that people did not yet know enough about one another.

Since the hour was growing late, the advisor asked that the group decide upon meeting-time and frequency. Group decided in favor of weekly meetings, and then set about the task of selecting a time for the next meeting. It was immediately suggested that the group meet the following Monday, and several members indicated approval. Advisor stepped in at that point and said that since various groups met different nights, it would be unfair for some groups to meet constantly on the same night. But as the discussion progressed, the feeling increasingly developed in favor of Monday night meeting. Finally, the advisor stepped in and stated that the selection for a meeting night would of necessity have to be between Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. When one group member finally suggested Tuesday, other members whose club met that night complained, and the advisor then pointed out to those people that continuing meetings on Monday merely placed other groups in the identical position. Advisor then called for a vote between Tuesday and Wednesday, but just before the vote was taken, a member again said Monday was best and inquired why it couldn't be held Monday when so many of the group were obviously in favor of the plan. Advisor insisted on a vote, and Wednesday was selected.

Throughout the meeting there was a tendency for the suggestions of the advisor to be accepted. There was a minimum of participation considering the serious nature of the meeting. For example, where many of the delegates were unknown to one another, they were inclined

to be passive, especially during the early part of the meeting. However, the most important subject was considered during the early part of the meeting namely that of whether or not the Council should be continued. Whatever the motivation of the delegate who suggested that alternatives be considered, it was a logical suggestion especially since the advisor had raised that question in his remarks. It was apparent, however, that the advisor felt the necessity to make decisions quickly and therefore to get the program underway. Thus, where the advisor might have picked up on remarks concerning alternatives, he did not, but handled it in such a way as to make further consideration difficult. This is not to imply that the ideas of the advisor were "rail-roaded" through; but it is to imply that his behavior directed the process more than might have been true had the group been more familiar and at ease.

When the question of future meeting-time arose, the advisor perhaps failed to handle the situation wisely. By initially giving the group a choice, he risked their selection affecting the operation of the Evening program. If the advisor had decided beforehand that such a decision logically rested with the group, then it would have been well to have interpreted the effect of a permanent meeting night on the Evening program. But this interpretation was not made until after the sentiment had been expressed and was quickly gathering support from other members. It was therefore necessary for the advisor to place himself in the position of opposing the group on an issue which was apparently their responsibility. Finally, of course, the advisor had to deny the responsibility he had given them by saying that Monday night was definitely not to be selected, and thus narrowing the choice to Tuesday or Wednesday. It appears that the approach may have been unwise from the outset. Since the time of meeting vitally affected the club program and thus agency policy, it would have been more honest and less confusing if the advisor had stated that as a matter of policy, meetings had to be rotated. Then the group could have made selection within those limits. But to delegate or imply responsibility to a group and then to deny it if the decision is contrary to the wishes or expectations of the advisor is not a wise approach.

Abolishment of Fining System.---The representatives abolished the fining system which was established in the Social Committee as a penalty for clubs without representation in meetings. The group discussed the importance of a delegates's presence at Council meetings and definitely decided that the representative should go to the Council meeting rather than club meetings when the two were held on the same night.

Reaction of Racial Groups in Council.---When the Friday night dance committee was formed in the Council, there was some movement to get repre-

sentatives of Negro groups, who voted against the reorganization of the committee on a rotational basis, which would have given every club in the Evening program a night to sponsor the weekly social dance. Previously the dance committee was made up of representatives of three Italian clubs. The Negro representatives stated that they attended other dances in the community, and were not interested in attending the dances at the settlement, and therefore voted for the continuance of the same system as employed in the Social Committee.

At the same meeting, there was an attempt to get Negro representation on the Publicity committee, a new standing committee of the Council, and again the Negro delegates declined. It was then necessary for the advisor to come to the club meeting of the Negro girls' group and to interpret the group's responsibility in the general agency program of the Activities Council. This group record revealed the group's feelings and attitudes as manifested toward the Council:

It was on this basis that supervisor (advisor) came in to speak to the whole group as a club, and to interpret membership responsibilities.

R. told supervisor that they didn't attend the dances because of the records that were played and that their type of dancing was different in style. Supervisor pointed out that records were purchased by the record committee last year and that an attempt was made to buy records which each group had chosen by popularity vote, and records were bought on that basis. He continued to say that the Puerto Ricans had a different style of dancing, and the whole floor attempted to learn the steps.

C. then challengingly said: "Well, if we come who will we dance with?" Supervisor again attempted to point out that he realized the situation and urged them to bring their friends, as the other groups did. This met with general discussion as to why this would not work, one being that the dances did not last long enough.

Supervisor then asked if they felt that the Council was of some help to them as a club. C. said that the one affair that was given

last year they didn't participate and they told the group that they didn't plan to participate. This was in connection with the Palisades Park Field Day event which the Social Committee planned as an intergroup function. The reputation of the Palisades was threatening to the group because of race riots and disturbances which occurred during the summer season.

Supervisor then pointed out that A. who was the representative could have utilized the democratic procedure and pointed out the reason of not wishing to participate. C. contended that A. could do nothing when the majority of the group wanted the Palisades. Other spots were suggested and R. said that A. voted against the Palisades. C. then said: "What can we do anyway, there's only a small minority on the council (implying Negro) and the majority wins. Supervisor tried to point out that perhaps in the past they had reason to feel that way, but suggested that the girls avail themselves of the present openings, and that they speak up, as this was practical democracy.

On a whole, groups were able to express true feelings toward members of the staff more freely. It had been noted that anxiety had risen in Italian groups because of the increase of Puerto Rican clubs.

Special Activities

Although the Council had been successful in avoiding some of the mistakes of the Social Committee, it had been comparatively slow in moving into specific program planning for the membership. With the exception of the Friday night dances, the Council had not yet involved the clubs into participating in a joint activity until in February, when the Winter Carnival was proposed by the Council.

Winter Carnival.---This activity was given in the auditorium and centered around a carnival theme. Each group in the Evening program and Young Adult program provided a carnival feature. These groups took the total responsibility in planning, handling and managing. These features were games of skill, fortune-telling, penny-pitching, turtle-racing, cake raffling, selling of refreshments and souvenirs. The whole activity represented a miniature Coney Island with booths and tables set-up in the audi-

torium.

Admission fee was ten cents, with members and non-members paying the cost. However when the clubs used money from their own treasuries in order to put on their shows at the carnival, the Council agreed to pay back their expenses.

A special committee was formed by the Council which included non-representatives as well as representatives to plan the details of the Winter Carnival. This committee functioned as a clearance for all clubs to prevent duplication of carnival acts. This type of planning insured a variety of acts. Moreover, the committee visited clubs during their meetings and explained to the members the specific operation of the committee. It was interpreted to the groups that the purpose of the Winter Carnival was to have "fun" and the profits earned from the function was secondary.

The Publicity committee became very active in interpreting to the membership the Council's planning of the carnival. This was effectively accomplished by the committee in publishing a one-sheet news, entitled, "Winter Carnival News". The Council proposed that the profits from the activity be used to decorate the lounge. The news carried an attached ballot, which was used by the membership for checking the listed items suggested by the Council in adding or replacing items in the lounge. These ballots were to be placed in a box in the lobby and were to be compiled.

The Winter Carnival proved successful in terms of the fun had through participating in the activity, and in terms of the money made for lounge improvements. These findings were reported by the Publicity committee in the second edition of the house paper entitled "The Winter Carnival Review".

Each group's carnival feature was described in the paper.

Future Plans.--An all-star game was planned by the Athletic committee. It was decided that an all-star team consisting of one player from each team play against the house winning team. A preliminary game between two girls' teams was arranged as a special attraction.

Inter-Agency Council

The Intergroup Relations Committee of the East Harlem Council for Community Planning had begun a program involving representatives from agencies in the community to plan activities which would bring young people together in East Harlem. The Activities Council elected two representatives from the Council to meet young people from other agencies in helping to bring about this closer relationship among teen-agers in the area.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first focus of the Social Intergroup Work process dealt with the adjustmental relations between groups and not with the personal needs of members of the intergroup, itself.¹ The Recreation-Education Department of Union Settlement realized the positive advantages in having groups within the agency maintain cooperating and participating relationships with other groups in the meeting of common goals. This can be effected through the careful structuring of an intergroup body which has equal representation from all groups participating in the agency program.

This study was focused on the teen-age area of the Recreation-Education Department of Union Settlement and on the development of intergroup relationships through a representative body. The writer, in defining intergroup relationships used the broad conception of the term which designates the existing relationships between one group toward another group. The term does not imply that the qualitative phenomena of differences be limited solely to racial or cultural aspects in order to form an index for intergroup relations. Throughout this study, the term was specifically denoted to the functioning of an inter-club body which was composed of representatives of clubs in the teen-age and young adult areas in the Evening Program.

These clubs were taken into the agency through the group intake method. This method allowed the staff to reach out into the community and include groups which were naturally formed through neighborhood as-

¹Wilbur I. Newstetter, op. cit., p. 205.

sociations. The agency provided no special interest groups for individual registration, the basis of friendship formed the sole method of intake policy. These friendship groups were self-determining in their choice of acceptance and rejection of members. It was generally discovered that the clubs came in the agency with a very high degree of cultural and ethnical homogeneity.

The agency provided general program areas which were utilized by groups to enlarge their own club programming. These general program areas, such as the kitchen, game room and lounge were to be used by groups according to their manifested interests but were flexible in that groups were not pressured into using them.

The staff, recognizing the need for teen-agers to plan and build their own program activities, created the Social Committee in 1948. This organization had equal representation from every club in the teen-age area. The purposes of the Social Committee were to improve the general program for the membership, and to get clubs to become more active in planning their own program. It afforded opportunities for the clubs to become more responsible for planning their own activities, and through these activities money was raised for more adequate program facilities and equipment.

Sub-committees were formed under the Social Committee for the purpose of performing specific functions. These committees were the Records and Friday night dance committees, which involved the representatives in the task of planning and executing program activities. For special events, special committees were created which tended to involve non-representatives for planning and working out special problems and duties.

Some of the most significant problems encountered in the functioning of the Social Committee were concerning attendance, interaction between groups, participation and conflicts with the Athletic Council, a similarly structured organization. These problem areas were met and solved through various techniques of interpretation.

Special activities planned by the Social Committee were a special Christmas program, "Hanging of the Greens", Variety Night, Benefit-Game and Dance, and Field Day. In these activities there was an attempt to bring the membership together through participation in joint enterprises.

In November of 1949, the Social Committee was reorganized by staff and re-named the Activities Council, as it was felt that the latter was more explanatory of structure and function. The Activities Council was similar to the former Social Committee in that it was a representative body, composed by delegates from the teen-age and young adult areas. The young adult area was a new division in the Recreation-Education department beginning in 1949.

The Activities Council enlarged some of the purposes of the Social Committee by assisting in the task of interpreting agency policy to the membership, and by developing techniques for intergroup cooperation in planning and executing programs. The committee structures remained the same in standing committees with the exception of the Athletic Council of last year. Under the new Council, the Athletic Council became a committee thereby solving one of the problems of last year. In this way the Activities Council had been rather successful in avoiding some of the former mistakes.

In terms of learning the processes of representative government, the

value of the inter-club body lay in the democratic processes through which plans were made and carried out. In the inter-club structure, members of different ethnical and cultural backgrounds met together to plan events and work out problems which were considered important to all. The elements which they had in common were brought out and through skillful guidance, differences were respected. The Social Committee of 1948-49 and the Activities Council of 1949-50 enabled the clubs in the Evening program of the Recreation-Education department to see their relationship to other groups in the agency, which is the basis of the Social Intergroup Work process.

Evaluation

The over-all objectives of the agency in organizing the Social Committee and later, the Activities Council were to provide a democratic-decision making experience for the membership at their own level, and to supplement staff responsibility for program planning. The staff attempted to reach these objectives by the creation of these inter-club bodies.

In this study evaluation was focused upon the structural organization and functional purposes of program used in the development of intergroup relationships. Intercultural and interracial understanding were not the main objectives in building the intergroup structure, although it was realized that intercultural relationships were sometimes furthered when people of diverse ethnic and cultural make-up came together for a common purpose.

Structurally, the Social Committee and Activities Council afforded each group equal representation in the inter-club body which was in keeping with the provision of democratic representation. However, evidences were found of the advisor super-imposing his own decisions upon the repre-

sentative body, as cited in the record used. Further the fact that some activities did not allow full participation of all members of each group indicated that the purpose of providing opportunities for participation of all members was not always met, as in the event, "Hanging of the Greens".

Special committees enabled non-representative members in clubs opportunities in sharing the responsibilities for program planning through active participation on special events committees. This committee structuring complied with the objective of supplementing staff responsibility for program planning.

Although some discrepancies were found in programming in the light of its purposes of objectives, on a whole, it was found that intergroup relationships, as the study deals with the term, are being furthered and developed through such organizational structure as an inter-club body, representative of all groups within the Recreation-Education department of Union Settlement.

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